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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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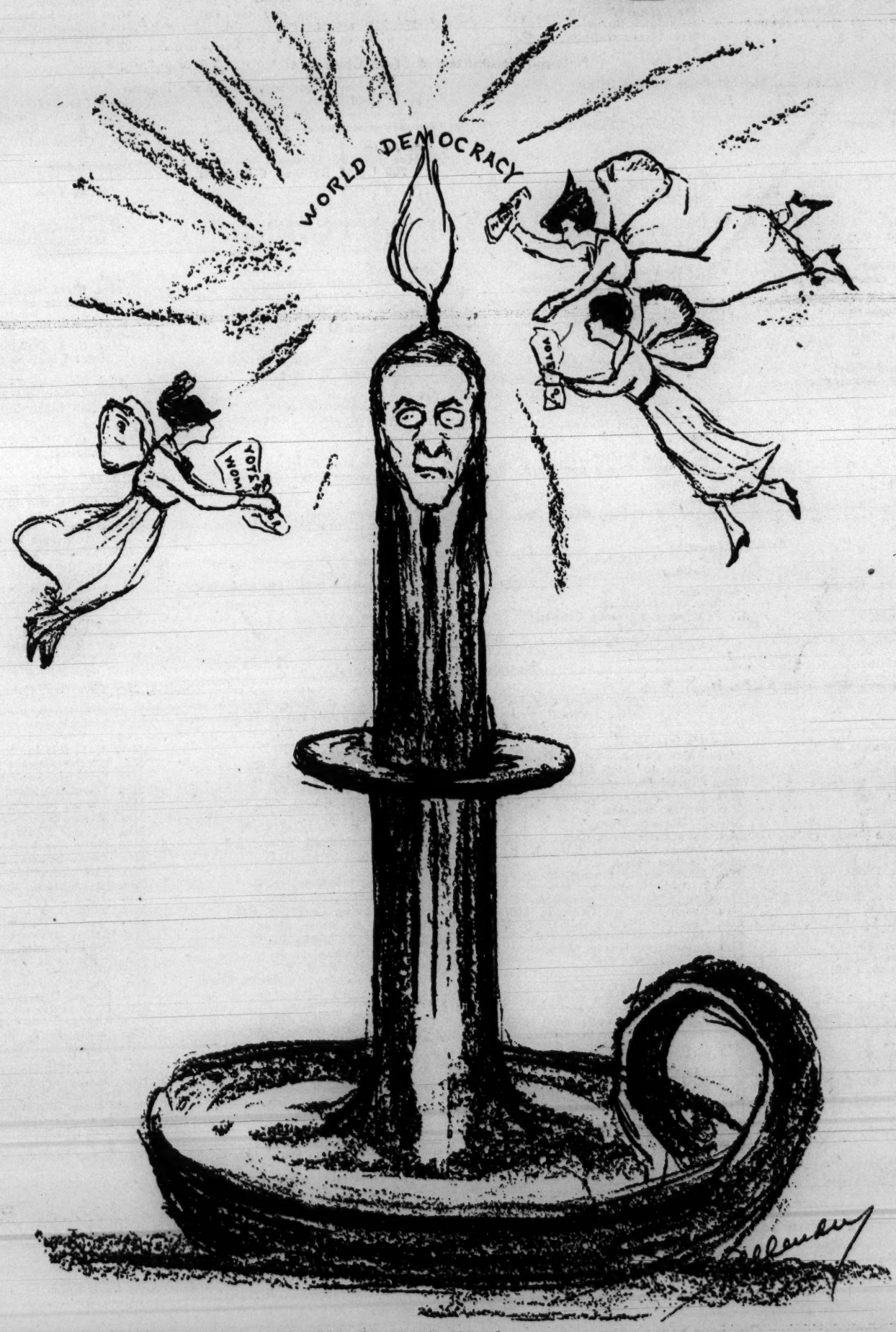

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

Women Singe Their Wings at the Delusive Candle

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Suffragists Win Nebraska Fight

THE Nebraska state law giving women Presidential suffrage, operation of which has been suspended for nearly a year by efforts of anti-suffragists to have the suffrage act submitted to a referendum vote, has gone into effect. The law became effective when a decree was issued in the district court making permanent a temporary injunction enjoining submission of the suffrage act to a referendum vote. Anti-suffragists will appeal the case, it was announced.

Women on Juries in Austria

THE Austrian Parliament has passed a motion to admit women to juries, thereby deciding a question that has been engaging the legislature for years.

More Agitation for D. C. Suffrage

WHILE National Woman Suffrage, as a constitutional amendment, is still hanging fire in the Senate, business men of the District of Columbia are continuing to bestir themselves on behalf of manhood suffrage for the District.

At a recent meeting of the Washington Advertising Club, composed of representatives of leading mercantile establishments, newspapers and business concerns in the city, this question of Suffrage in the District was brought up and made the subject of quite far-reaching plans for its furtherance. Among these plans was the issuance of a statement to be carried on all out of town correspondence by Washington business firms—a statement which is the fundamental and ultimate argument behind all agitation for the extension of the suffrage, whether it be merely male suffrage or universal, equal suffrage:

"Two hundred thousand residents of the District of Columbia pay Federal taxes, obey Federal laws, go to war to defend the Federal government, but these 200,000 have no local self-government, no Presidential vote, no national representation. 'Taxation without representation is tyranny.' Will you help us. If so, write us, we'll tell you how."

The extension of the suffrage to any unenfranchised class is a gain for democracy; and yet is it not a little bit typical of the average unthinking acceptance of things, that it should not occur to those men that the injustice under which they are living is just as intolerable to the women who live along side them in the District?

Girl Workers of the Nations Unite for Better Working Conditions

A BULLETIN from New York this week carries the story of a Japanese girl, Asee Eoka, who is on the picket line with the women of the Garment Workers Union in the demand for a 44 hour week. The bulletin points out that this is significant of the fact that the women of all nations are awakening to a knowledge of their common responsibility for the betterment of all women's economic conditions.

"Surely, when the strike is called, for better wages and conditions, Japanese women need them as much as any women, and I go with them," Miss Eoka is quoted as saying.

It has been long held as a truism that women would never unite in any inter-class or inter-race fashion to work for a common end, as men are willing to do. This one small instance may be added to the long list of facts which already refute this generality—as facts are in the habit of refuting would-be generalities.

On one day's picket line in the Garment Workers' Strike, the above-referred-to bulletin states, Sweden, Ireland, Italy, Russia, Africa and Japan were represented by women interested in and demanding economic freedom for women everywhere.

Medals and Monuments for Women War Workers

IT has been recently proposed in the Senate that the government award war medals to women who have rendered valuable war service both in this country and abroad. Senator Calder, of New York, said in a letter to Secretary Baker, that, inasmuch as honor medals were being awarded to officers and enlisted men, "it occurs to me that there are many women who served with the army abroad in our hospitals, who are equally fitted to consideration for services rendered, and if medals of honor can be awarded to those women, under the law, I trust they will not be overlooked. If the law forbids the granting of medals to women, I shall be glad to introduce a bill for its repeal."

In this same connection, it has been proposed that the Army honor women by erecting in Washington a monument to "American Womanhood in commemoration of her loyalty, sacrifices, and devotion to the American Expeditionary Forces," this monument to be the gift of the men of the Expeditionary Forces above named.

The spirit in which these suggestions have been made is certainly very commendable; all the more so if they come more in the light of an appreciation than of a reward—for it is to be doubted if women in war work were actuated by any thought of reward. But, dismissing the notion of "rewards" entirely—we wonder sometimes if it ever occurs to these good people that to offer an occasional sugar-plum with one hand and withhold with the other the bread of daily sustenance—to give an unasked honor and withhold an asked-for right—might be just a little bit—well—exasperating?

Women in Industry Demand Labor Laws

NOW that the women of New York State have the vote, they are working, through the Women's Joint Legislative Conference, comprising the six largest womens' organizations in the state, to put through this session of the legislature at Albany a program of six bills, all for the benefit of women in industry.

They are being asked, among other things, why, if women have come into industry and politics, they should not work under the same conditions as men. Miss Mary E. Dreier, chairman of the Women's Joint Legislative Conference, has issued a statement answering this and other questions, and tending incidentally to show that enfranchised women are going speedily to use their new power in effecting reforms which during all the years of their disfranchisement they have been forced to work for by means of begging, pleading and cajolery. Miss Dreier says:

"In the first place, we are not satisfied to sit down calmly once we have got the vote, because equal franchise has not created equal industrial conditions, either in the hours of work or the amount in the pay envelope. Since women are inadequately organized industrially, they have not been able to obtain the better condition enjoyed by the men, who have obtained them through the power of their enfranchised labor unions. Political equality does not mean industrial equality unless industry is regulated, by means of this political equality. entirely through legislation. Where industrial organization is lacking, legislative remedies must be applied.

"Since the war began women have entered industry in great numbers, because of the necessity of increasing production and because the men had left to go to the defence of their country. Because of the exigencies of the moment the trade union men permitted the women to work with them, but without joining the union. Most of these women did as much work as the men beside whom they toiled. In fact, the output of many of them was even greater than that of the men. Yet most of the women workers got from two cents to ten cents per hour less than the men were paid for the same work. At present there are no limits to hours, and women work anywhere from nine to fourteen hours a day.

"The working girls themselves want these bills that we are proposing. They have worked under the conditions of no protection, or inadequate protection, and they have endorsed this legislation heartily. And now they have the votes to help make this legislation possible."

South Carolina Demands Suffrage Amendment

By Helen E. Vaughan, State Chairman, National Woman's Party

WHEN Senator W. P. Pollock was elected to the United States Senate, South Carolina suffragists felt that they had a friend in Congress who would represent the women as well as the men of the state.

Senator Pollock was known throughout South Carolina as an earnest advocate of woman suffrage, and a strong supporter of all the policies of President Wilson and the Democratic Party. Mr. Pollock was elected to complete the term of the late Senator Tillman, which ends March 4, with the close of the Democratic Congress. Great interest centered upon this senator, who might cast the deciding vote for the national suffrage amendment thereby enfranchising American women and at the same time bring honor to his party. His favorable vote on the amendment seemed assured.

Some time before his term began, Senator Pollock was confidently approached by the suffragists of the state, who asked him to make public pledge of his position on the amendment, that his vote might be counted upon as one of the two necessary for the passage of the measure. His refusal to make any declaration was a surprise and disappointment. The women, however, came away trusting that Senator Pollock would soon choose the "right time and place" for a statement, which would be most helpful in securing the remaining vote.

As the precious days went by, and suffragists began to realize that no vote would be taken in this session unless there were the required number of votes to pass the measure—that it would not be brought up to defeat—confidence in Senator Pollock's position was mingled with impatience and alarm, lest his silence jeopardize his opportunity to vote at all on this measure of democracy.

South Carolina people realizing the fact that Senator Pollock's silence is holding back the suffrage amendment, and depriving the Democratic Party of the credit of enfranchising the women of the nation, began at once to urge him by letters, telegrams, petitions and resolutions to make a statement immediately that he would support the amendment. Prominent men and women from all parts of the state have urged him to declare his position, and assured him of future political backing. This prompt expression has become a campaign to help Senator Pollock to make public pledge of his vote.

Among the first to write to Senator Pollock was Mayor Harvley, of Greenville, who wrote:

"I suppose that you have read the editorials that have appeared in several South Carolina papers recently with reference to your position regarding the federal suffrage amendment.

"I, of course, realize that you could not allow the wishes or opinions of those who have supported you to influence you to any great extent, but in view of the fact that I have always supported you I feel that I might have at least the liberty of expressing my opinion to you regarding this matter.

"It is generally understood that you are in favor of the amendment regardless of the fact that you have not so expressed yourself. I am convinced in my own mind that this amendment will be adopted in the very near future and the question seems to be whether or not the Democratic or the Republican Party will receive the credit for the passage of it.

"In view of the fact that the President has made himself so clear on this issue, I believe that the passage of this amendment should occur while the House of Representatives and Senate are controlled by the Democrats. The time is drawing near when the Democrats will no longer be in control and may I not ask you to assist in putting this amendment through by at once making a public statement as to your position? Frankly, I believe that you would be doing yourself an injustice not to make your position known.

"Assuring you of my continued loyalty, and with kindest regards, I am,

"Yours truly,

"H. C. Harvley, Mayor."

Mayor Harvley was equally glad to head a petition which was circulated in his city and signed by hundreds of men and women.

A very earnest letter was sent to Senator Pollock by Mrs. M. P. Gridley, an enthusiastic member of the Greenville Branch of the National Woman's Party, and known throughout the state for her business and club activities.

"I am writng to ask you to not only vote for the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment, but to declare as soon as possible that you will do so.

"I have had a long experience in meeting the women of the state; have been the president for twenty-eight years of the oldest woman's club in the state and was a charter member of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; had held several offices in the gift of the Federation of Clubs, although I had to resign the presidency on account of ill health soon after my election. I was also the head of the cotton mill business for twenty-five years.

"I would not tell you all this but to tell you that I have had and still have the opportunity to know what men and women are thinking. The resentment against Senator Benet's attitude was more intense than even I anticipated.

"We realize that as a politician you are probably waiting to see what your constituents wish you to do, but there are times when to lead is the stronger position, and I am fully convinced that this is one of the times. The people of the state believe that President Wilson wishes this amendment passed and they are resenting the obstruction to its passage.

"This desire for the suffrage at one time was confined to the few, but now all classes are awake to its importance. Among the laboring classes, especially the cotton mill workers, the feeling has become general that the women are entitled to this recognition by the men who are supposed to represent them.

"The situation, as you well know, is tense and you can so easily end it. This battle that has been fought for seventy years will not end until the women have been given the ballot. Why prolong the struggle? Can you not see that the party that passes this amendment will have the prestige for many years to come?

"The opportunity is a great one. Will you not embrace it and by declaring your intention to vote for the amendment now give to your party the glory of passing the amendment? I believe the fate of the Democratic Party almost hangs in the balance."

From Columbia, Rev. G. Groft Williams, Secretary State Board of Charities and Corrections, vigorously expresses himself:

"I am taking the liberty of asking you to declare yourself on the proposed Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution. There are a number of citizens in South Carolina that are looking to our chosen leaders for declaration on all important national and international questions, and we are strengthened in our relations with them when we are taken into their confidence on matters that concern us all. We do not like to be ignorant of the people's chosen representatives' views on vital and urgent issues until, at some dramatic moment, they give utterance to their personal opinions. It rather appears that the leaders that act thus are more interested in having a vivid setting for an oratorical climax than in the instruction and leadership of their constituents.

"I am deeply interested in equal suffrage, and I am also deeply interested in you and your political career, and I am writing this letter because I feel that you wish the citizens of the state to inform you of their wishes."

Mr. Albert S. Johnson, of the Federal Reserve Board, until recently a conspicuous man in the public life of the state, adds his plea:

"I am informed that passage of the bill submitting to the states the question of granting suffrage to women has reached the stage where your attitude is a very determining factor.

"Having been in public life myself in South Carolina as Secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections and having studied legislative operations, I well understand the necessity on the part of a legislator of knowing

the thoughts and desires of the people whom he represents. Though I am now living in Richmond, my removal from South Carolina is so recent that I trust you will permit me to write you as a citizen of South Carolina, and to say that I hope you will see your way clear to support this measure now before the Senate.

"I express this hope with full appreciation of the question of state's rights which is said to be involved. In the face of such a question of simple justice, I find it difficult to believe South Carolina's rights as a state would be trespassed upon or endangered by the enlargement of suffrage through federal amendment. Moreover, there would be something anomalous to me in the refusal on the part of America to incorporate fully in her own political life the principles of democracy for which her sons have died thousands of miles across the sea.

"I speak as a South Carolinian, as a Southerner, and as an American in asking that suffrage be extended to the women of America."

Judge John Gary Evans, of Spartanburg, who has been closely associated with Senator Pollock's political career, and worked with him to place a suffrage bill before the state legislature in 1916, hastened to use his influence to secure a speedy statement and a favorable one from Mr. Pollock.

The Mayor of Anderson eagerly wired to Washington.

The Central Labor Union of Charleston adopted resolutions which were sent to both Senator Smith and Senator Pollock asking them to vote for the amendment, and the officers of the Woman's Union Labor League, having a membership of 80, sent a petition signed by all urging industrial and political equality for women as an outcome of the immediate passage of the national suffrage amendment.

Resolutions were also adopted by the Business Woman's Club of Greenville Similar resolutions were passed by the Public Health Workers of Greenville, and by the Public Nurses' Association.

Impatient at Senator Pollock's delay, the South Carolina Branch of the National Woman's Party has been untiring in its efforts to persuade him to help end the struggle for enfranchisement. Upon receiving the news that women keeping the "watch fires of freedom" were sentenced to imprisonment for demanding a share in the world democracy, a telegram was dispatched at once to Senator Pollock.

Many hundreds of names have been signed to petitions from cities and towns throughout the state calling upon both Senators to vote favorably on the suffrage amendment, and the agitation will not cease during this short session of Congress until the measure is passed.

This campaign "Helping Pollock to declare," has attracted the attention of the press of the state, and is a subject of daily comment. The Piedmont, of Greenville, and The Charleston Evening Post are following the situation with a series of editorials, while the Columbia State, the mouthpiece of the conservative States Rights Party, generously gives space to personal letters which urge Senator Pollock to commit himself.

How long will our suffragist senators keep his constituents waiting for an answer? Surely he will not let his opportunity to vote for this measure of justice escape him by an unreasonable delay.

Women in the New Year

By a Woman Correspondent

Reprint from The Manchester Guardian

THE year 1918 came in with no promise to the women of Great Britain, but it brought them citizenship and the entry into Parliament. With 1919 they believe—relying on definite promises—that their greatest legal disabilities will be removed, that they will be given the right to compete with men in industry on fair terms, that they will have equal pay for similar work, that professional barriers will be swept away, that they will be permitted to enter technical classes and schools which have hitherto been closed to them, and that their right to more important administrative and consultative positions will be recognized. They have the prospect of being able to organize themselves in order to safeguard their industrial and professional interests as they have never done before. They know that the welfare of women in domestic and family life, the health of women and of children, the healthful conditions of their life are to be given full and expert attention by the State, and they realize that if the State fails in this direction they now have the remedy in their own hands. They have proved themselves a political force. They await the eager considered overtures of politicians. They are ready to express their disapproval if performance does not come up to expectation.

And yet never did the opening of the year find the women of Great Britain in such a state of unrest. They are facing a new world in dark uncertainty, assured that if it does not bring tragedy it brings trials which must put a new strain on their courage, their endurance, and their quickened intelligence. Hundreds of thousands have been engaged in most arduous toil, so absorbed in their urgent work that they have had no time to look beyond the moment. Their hours have been apportioned for them, they have worked to the clock. They have had unusual demands upon their purses and an unaccustomed amount of money to spend. Now full of energy, intensely conscious of their powers and capabilities, they find themselves out of work, money going out as freely as ever, and the bottom of the purse painfully visible. They have in a very large number of cases no idea what their occupation will be in three months time; they cannot today visualize their future. They can only take their courage in both hands and go forward, determined to make the best of life that has never before seemed so well worth living.

That is the position of the women who have had to earn their living and who have to a large extent lost touch with their pre-war occupations. Then there are the hosts of women—many of them women of middle or older age—who have been for years busily and very happily engaged in hospitals, canteens, or in public offices on work that will also end very speedily. They had often, before the war brought its demands, fretted at the aimlessness of their lives. They had too often felt that they were of no value to their country, or, indeed, to anyone but themselves. They have been born again, have realized that without their patient, tireless work countless agencies devoted to war victims and the wounded must have closed their doors. In the midst of death and suffering they have for the first time known the zest of life, and they have known a new comradeship with women of all classes. Now their work has ceased, or is rapidly drawing to an end, and they cannot tolerate the prospect of return to the old trivialities.

The only solution of the problem is to be found in the word comradeship, and there are signs that this is understood—that the well-to-do women will bring what help they can to the industrial workers. It is, for instance, an excellent thing that the difficulties of domestic service are now so generally recognized, and that there is such a widespread desire for the amelioration of conditions. The industrial women themselves are anxious not to accept terms that will make life harder for their fellows—they understand the value of organization—and to the disciplined, efficient, well-to-do women of the younger generation the nation may well look for an army of voluntary or paid social workers, ready for the big tasks that lie ahead.

Florida Deputation to Florida Senators

By Ruby Leach, of the Miami, Florida, Metropolis

SO strong has the sentiment favoring the immediate passage of the national suffrage amendment become in Florida—sentiment manifested by a petition from the state legislature and by resolutions passed every day by organizations of all kinds all over the state, that the Florida senators are no longer able to overlook the fact that Florida wants to enfranchise its women by this amendment.

A petition signed by the majority of the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Florida legislature in support of the national suffrage amendment was brought from Florida to Washington by a committee of five Florida women, who submitted it to Senators Park Trammell and Duncan U. Fletcher on Saturday morning, February 1. This petition was signed by such men as Senator J. W. Hughlett, of Cocoa; Senator Lincoln Hulley, of De Land; Senator A. Corbett, of St. Johns County; Senator Lowry, of Tallahassee; and Representative Wainbright, of Jacksonville, and included the names of more than a majority of the total number of members of the legislature.

The men who signed the petition are men of influence, are prominent politically and are men whose votes reflect the sentiment of the people they represent. Some of the senators and representatives who refused to sign the petition when the Florida women first took it to them, later wrote asking if they might sign it and stating that they had received letters from persons in their districts, urging them to stand with President Wilson in supporting the passage of the federal suffrage amendment.

The five Florida women who were sent from Florida as a committee to tell the Florida senators that the men and women of their state DO want them to support the Susan B. Anthony amendment were:

Mrs. Lorenzo Wilson Baldwin, of Jacksonville—a member of the Florida bar, corresponding secretary of the State Council of Nation Defense, prominent in Florida Pan Helenic circle and the wife of a prominent Jacksonville attorney. She represented the professional women of her state.

Mrs. L. S. Felton, of Mayo—representing the country women of Florida and said to have more political influence than any other woman in the western part of the state. She is a granddaughter of John C. Calhoun.

Mrs. William MacDonell, of Jacksonville—a Red Cross nurse, a member of the executive committee of the Jacksonville Liberty Loan campaigns, the wife of Dr. MacDonell, who is head of the Jacksonville board of health, and the daughter of ex-Congressman David Lester, of Georgia.

Miss Clyde Hunt, of Jacksonville—principal of the Western Union training school for operators, head of the employment bureau of the Florida branch of the Western Union, a graduate of Wesleyan College and of the Florida State College for Women and the granddaughter of ex-Congressman S. F. Gove.

Miss Ruby Leach, of Miami—a reporter on the Miami Daily Metropolis.

THE petition, which was signed by the Florida legislators and which was presented to the Florida senators on Saturday, reads:

"Whereas, the Democratic National Committee has endorsed the amendment to the constitution of the United States, enfranchising women, and has urged favorable action thereon by the United States Senate, and

"Whereas, President Wilson has personally urged its passage in this session of Congress,

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, members of the legislature of the state of Florida, are sending this to our members of the House of Representatives and the Senate in Washington as an endorsement of the stand of the Democratic National Committee."

The Florida women also called to the attention of their senators the fact that the South Florida Press Association at its semi-annual meeting in Winter Haven, passed resolutions urging the Florida representatives to vote for the enfranchisement of women, and the fact that the Florida Engineering society at its annual meeting in Jacksonville passed similar resolutions, as did the Central Trades and Labor Council of Jacksonville. These organizations and many others have all urged Senators Trammell and Fletcher to give the amendment the one vote needed so as not to undo the work already done by the Democratic Party and the President and so as not to leave the honor of enfranchising the women to the Republicans, since they have votes enough promised to put it through after March 4, when their Party will be in control.

Senator Trammell told the Florida delegation that he would take all these facts into consideration when he cast his vote, and although he suggested states rights as an objection to supporting the amendment, he did not seem opposed to the federal amendment.

Senator Fletcher also took the petition under consideration.

Twenty-four Legislatures Urge National Suffrage

TWENTY-FOUR legislatures have by resolution or petition since the first of the year, urged the National Senate to pass the suffrage amendment without further delay. The legislatures which have just taken this action are Oregon, Illinois, and Nevada. In all three the resolution had received the support of the governor, and word of the action taken by the Oregon legislature was at once reported by Governor Withycombe to Woman's Party workers in Washington.

The states which had already during the past weeks called in this way upon the Senate by resolutions of their legislatures are Wisconsin, New York, Michigan, Colorado, Nebraska, South Dakota, Utah, California, North Dakota, Idaho, Arkansas, Washington, Kansas, Minnesota, Indiana, Arizona, Texas and Montana. Those which have called upon the Senate by petitions from a majority of the members of the legislature are Florida, Maine and New Hampshire.

The petition from Maine was signed by a majority, and in addition many members announced that they were in favor of the passage of the amendment but refused to instruct Senator Hale on this measure because of the political asset it would bring him if he did vote favorably on the amendment. Senator Hale is alone in his opposition of the amendment, since Senator Fernald, of Maine, has voted for it. The names to the petition were secured by Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, State Chairman of the National Woman's Party, and by Miss Betty Gram, national organizer, who has been in Maine since securing the petition calling upon Senator Moses for his favorable vote.

Amendment to be Brought Up February Tenth

THE announcement was made in the Senate on Monday, February 3, by Senator Jones, Chairman of the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, that the federal suffrage amendment will again be introduced for discussion in the Senate on Monday, February 10.

THIS announcement by Senator Jones followed a meeting of the Democratic suffragists which was held at the Capitol, Sunday evening, February 2.

On Wednesday evening, February 4, a caucus of all Democratic senators was held at the Capitol upon a call issued by Senator Martin, leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate, to consider the suffrage amendment. This caucus was called in response to a petition requesting such a caucus, signed by twenty-two Democrats. It is the first time the Democrats in the Senate have met in caucus since the war began.

It is one year and one month since the amendment was passed by the House and went to the Senate for consideration. The Democratic Party, which is still in the majority, must either pass the amendment at this time or complete its already disgraceful record of the past five years on the suffrage measure with defeat.

The last vote was taken on October 1, 1918, when the amendment lost by two votes. Of the thirty-four votes cast against the measure, twelve were Republican and twenty-two were Democrats. Seventy-three per cent of the Republican senators voted for it, and fifty-seven per cent of the Democratic senators voted against it.

Ever since October 1, the National Woman's Party has continued its protest against the Administration which has blocked the passage of the amendment. The Party is not alone in this stand, for the press of the South with increasing unanimity is urging the senators from Southern states to save the party situation at once and to extend the democracy of this country to include American women.

As added strength to the arguments of the press comes the statement made by William Jennings Bryan on the day following Senator Jones' announcement. Mr. Bryan spent the day in consultation with one Democratic Senator after another and made the following statement as to the argument which he laid before them to secure their support of the amendment:

"Woman suffrage is coming to the country and to the world. It will be submitted to the states by the next Congress, if it is not submitted by the present Congress.

"I hope the Democrats of the South will not handicap the Democrats of the North by compelling them to spend the next twenty-five years explaining to the women of the country why their party prevented the submission of the suffrage amendment to the states.

"This is our last chance to play an important part in bringing about this important reform and it is of vital political concern that the Democrats of the northern Mississippi Valley not be burdened by the charge that our party prevented the passage of the suffrage amendment, especially when it is known that it is coming in spite of, if not with the aid of, the Democratic Party."

The Watch Fire Goes On

By Elizabeth Kalb

"HEY, lookout, kids—dey's a-comin'!"

Four small urchins scurried triumphantly down the avenue.

Six policemen moved in a more leisurely fashion from behind bush and tree and monument toward a common point opposite the White House—and waited.

From among the converging streams of humanity flowing through the park towards the statue of Jackson—that great democrat—in the center, individuals stopped, turning shaded gaze toward the glare of the western sun.

Through the bare tree branches and above low bush tops three purple, white and gold banners appeared suddenly, flaring colorfully against the pale blue sky and moving steadily onward beside the tall iron spikes of the White House fence. More people turned to look.

"The suffragists again!" the comment ran.

The banners moved on; then across an open space the three sturdy figures of their bearers, one behind the other, came into clear view.

A crowd surged up from behind them, closed in around them, went streaming from the park and across the street to them, accompanied them to that spot before the Presidential Mansion already burned clean by the sacrificial fires of women—women demanding a cessation of hypocrisy in matters of American freedom and justice.

An instant's pause, while the crowd which had swallowed up the three marchers grew and swayed and shifted about the spot. Then from in among the banners, still raised high—and above the heads of the people, flamed the new-made watch fire of democracy—that watch fire which, however many times it be extinguished, always flames up again, lit by the unfailing hope and determination in women's hearts. It flamed across the fast emptying park—and the new liberty bell at 14 Jackson Place took up the tale, that all who could not see the fire might hear and know that the President had again been using—words—about freedom.

The police at the edge of the park had moved across the street and disappeared in the crowd. And the fire still flamed and the banners still held true.

Again the crowd swayed—parted. The banners began to move, still high. Back across the street again came the policemen, three groups of them moving separately, each group with its banner and its staunch little woman's figure. They looked very lone in the wide empty street, in spite of the crowd at their backs. But the fire still flamed.

The few who had stayed across in the park to watch, collected rapidly and hurried ahead of the oncoming little group, now safely in the hands of "Right and Justice." And the other crowd was still at their heels. Up through the paths of the park toward the statue of Jackson—that untrammeled, militant figure—came two women with their escorts. Excitement rippled across the face of the gathering; comment ran rife.

"Aw, what do they want to arrest them for!"

"Well, they'd ought to arrest 'em—it's a nuisance havin' women all the time askin' for something!"—

The third woman and her escort appeared—a little old-grandmotherly woman, her tiny figure the straightest and staunchest of all, her face sweet yet grave with purpose, and serious with the seriousness of all her long years of struggle for justice.

Ohs and ahs ran over the crowd; many recognized her as having appeared in the three previous demonstrations of protest, as having just returned from serving a twenty-four hour sentence in the District jail.

"Why ge—she's old!" exclaimed one young fellow, gazing in amazement; "She's awful old! Why—why you wouldn't think of her being out like this! You'd think she'd have better sense. You'd think—you'd think she'd stay at home!" Palpably, his notions of the "women agitators" were becoming confused by his evident but unwilling admiration for this little old lady.

"She's a better soldier than you," said a man with a crutch near him in the crowd—"She didn't stay at home—even if you did."

The little group and its following moved on through the park to the patrol call-box on H street—banner still high. The bell across the

square continued to send out the news. And down on the curbing before the sun-washed white front of the President's mansion, flamed the fire.

The three women carried off in the patrol to the police station and later to the House of Detention for the night, on this afternoon of Friday, the 31st of January, were Miss Mary Ingham, of Philadelphia, chairman of the Pennsylvania branch; Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Wilmington, Delaware; and Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Jacksonville, Florida. Mrs. Nolan had made three such trips previously within the past ten days, and, with three such "charges" against her, had enjoyed the "leniency" of the judge, who refused to impose more than twenty-four hour sentence for all her offences together, while her first partner in crime received the usual five days.

SUBSEQUENT to her first arrest and release on bail awaiting a postponed trial, and up unto the last day of January and the demonstrations just described, the watch fires had been contsantly lighted and relighted. On the afternoon of Friday, January 24, Mrs. Nolan and Miss Berthe Arnold, of Colorado Springs, who were already scheduled to appear in court on Monday for trial, went out a second time to the accustomed spot before the White House and stood guard over the rekindled flame of freedom. Both were immediately arrested and taken to the House of Detention until next morning, when they were brought again before Judge McMahon for trial.

The courtroom was packed with a hushed gathering of people interested in the fate of the courageous little woman from Florida. Miss Arnold, disdaining to answer with a plea of guilty or not guilty, went through, in silence, the customary farce of a trial—and was sentenced to five days in jail. Mrs. Nolan, proved "guilty" of the same offence, was freed. On being brought before the bar she had said, "I am guilty if there is any guilt in a demand for freedom. I protest against the action of the President who is depriving American women of freedom. I have been sent to represent my state, Florida, and I am willing to do or suffer anything to bring victory to the long, courageous struggle. I have fought this fight many years. I have seen children born and grow to womanhood to fight at my side. I have seen their children grow up to fight with us."

A great storm of applause, which the judge tried in vain to quell, burst out at these words. Thirteen of the applauders were recognized by court attendants and, at the order of the Judge, brought to the dock and sentenced to forty-eight hours, with no alternative of fines, for "contempt of Court." These thirteen women were as follows: Miss Lucy Burns, New York City, member of the Executive Council; Miss Edith Ainge, Jamestown, N. Y.; Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Baltimore, Treasurer National Woman's Party; Mrs. Phoebe Munnecke, Detroit, Mich.; Mrs. Lucy Branham, Baltimore; Mrs. Annie Arneil, Wilmington, Delaware; Miss Matilda Young, Washington, D. C.; Miss Ruth Crocker, Chicago; Miss Elsie Unterman, Chicago; Mrs. Kate Boeckh, Washington, D. C., a daughter of the late Charles Boeckh, of Montreal; Miss Emily Huff, Iowa; Mrs. Lucille Shields, Amarillo, Texas; and Mrs. Elizabeth Walmsley, of Kansas City, Mo. These women went to jail, and Mrs. Nolan, in spite of her brave protest at receiving favorable discrimination on account of her age, was released.

But she knew that she could still be of use to the cause she loved. On Monday, January

Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, Found "Guilty of Demanding Freedom" Three Times in Ten Days

27, went out again, this time with Mrs. Sara Colvin, of St. Paul, chairman of the Minnesota Branch of the Woman's Party, to rebuild the watch fire and burn therein the speech made by President Wilson to the delegation of French working women. As she burned the paper on which his speech was copied she addressed the gathering on the sidewalk as follows:

"President Wilson told the women of France that they had not placed their confidence wrongly in his hopes and purposes. I tell the women of France that the women of America have placed their confidence in President Wilson's hopes and purposes for six years, and the party of which he is a leader has continually, and is even now obstructing their enfranchisement.

"President Wilson has the power to do for the women of this nation what he asserts he would like to do for the women of other nations.

"There are thirty-one days left for the passage of the suffrage amendment in this Congress, of which his party is in control. Let him return to this country and act to secure democracy for his own people. Then the words that he spoke for the women of Europe will have weight and will bear fruit. Sooner or later the women of the world will know what we know—that confidence cannot be placed in President Wilson's hopes and purposes for the freedom of women."

The police permitted this; in fact they seemed most loath to arrest Mrs. Nolan at all, and it was not until she and Mrs. Colvin both continued to re-assemble the scattered brands of the fire that they were taken into custody.

It was following this third arrest that Mrs. Nolan was sentenced, finally and reluctantly, to twenty-four hours in jail. Miss Berthe Arnold, was already in jail, serving her five day sentence. Mrs. Nolan went in alone on the evening of the twenty-seventh. Mrs. Colvin came up for trial on Tuesday, the 28th, and also received the customary five days.

On the day that Mrs Nolan was sentenced the thirteen women who had gone in on the day of her previous trial for applauding her courage and daring sincerity were released. They too had been hunger-striking in protest against their imprisonment, and Mrs. Elizabeth Walmsley, one of their number, was so ill from the effects of the unsanitary surroundings, foul air and lack of food or good water, that she had to be carried from the jail. On this later occasion Mrs. Nolan was removed from the House of Detention and tried ahead of the time set, before her friends could reach the court and have an opportunity to embarrass the honorable judge. On the day of Mrs. Colvin's trial, however, three more suffrage sympathizers were committed for forty-eight hours. These were Miss Cora Crawford, Philadelphia; Miss Margaret Rossett, of Baltimore, niece of Dr. Joshua Rosett; and Miss Elsie Unterman, a social worker of Chicago, who had been among the thirteen released two days before.

All these women are now out of jail—Miss Arnold, Mrs. Colvin and three above-named contemptuous ones. Of the three arrested at the most recent demonstration of January 31, Mrs. Nolan was freed, without bail, on her own recognizance, to appear in court on February 3, and the other two, Mrs. Arneil and Miss Ingham, are in jail awaiting trial on that same date. Of the high will and pleasure—somewhat erratic at times—of the honorable court of Right and Justice of our land, on this next Monday, February 3, 1919—who can say?

The Rights of Political Prisoners

By Katherine Fisher

EVERY group of suffragists sent to prison now hunger-strikes, refuses to take any food whatever while serving sentence. The hunger-strike is a protest against the government's refusal to recognize and to treat them as political prisoners in distinction from common offenders imprisoned for offenses against the criminal or civil law.

For centuries European tradition has recognized a difference in status between the rebel and the felon. Even when punishment for the apprehended rebel was harsher than punishment for the apprehended felon; this subtle differentiation was made. In Republican France, political prisoners (and also persons committed for infraction of police regulations) are exempt from work, are allowed extra rations, and may also buy extra food. They may receive visitors four times a week. For prisoners to secure this treatment "it should be demonstrated and incontestible that they acted under the influence of their opinions."

Imperial Germany and Austria conferred the custodia honesta (honorable custody) on their political malcontents. Even Romanoff Russia drew a sharp demarcation between politicals and criminals.

English common law custom and precedent has long recognized the distinction though the statutes may not. Troublesome agitators like Will Cobbett, Richard Cobden and Leigh Hunt were allowed to set up comfortable apartments in their jails, to receive their friends and to transact business as they desired, and to provide themselves with books and food.

In 1895, Dr. Jamison served the sentence imposed upon him for leading an armed raid into the Transvaal, in a luxurious suite where he received his friends. In 1889, when attempts were made to subject Irish political prisoners to ordinary prison rules, the pressure of public opinion forced the government to grant in large measure the prisoners' demands. British public opinion in this instance was reinforced by a protest from prominent Americans, including cabinet and ex-cabinet officers, and a long list of governors and United States Senators.

THE United States is alone in making no distinction between political and other offenders. It shuts its eyes to the precedents of nearly all times and all nations. In the United States political prisoners are confined in the same prisons as criminals, are dressed in the same garb, given the same food, made to do the same work, and subjected to the same rules. The occasional failure to impose these conditions, notably in the case of Jefferson Davis and other Confederate leaders, shows that they are not mandatory, but the power to impose them has always lain in the hands of courts and officials.

THE first concerted protest against this practice was made in 1917, when women were first imprisoned for their agitation in protest against the continued blocking of the national suffrage amendment by the Democratic Party. After appeals to the government from outside proved fruitless, the prisoners then in the work-house inaugurated a work-strike as a protest. New restrictions was the answer made by the prison authorities.

A formal demand and protest by the prisoners, (perhaps to become a historical document) was therefore sent on October 15, 1917, to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, who directly control the District penal institutions. It was signed by eleven suffragists, who were serving sixty-day sentences in Occoquan workhouse for the alleged offense of "obstructing traffic" while picketing the White House with banners demanding immediate support by the Administration for the suffrage amendment then pending in the House of Representatives. Part of their protest follows:

"As political prisoners, we, the undersigned, refuse to work while in prison. We have taken this stand as a matter of principle after careful consideration, and from it we shall not recede.

"This action is a necessary protest against an unjust sentence. In reminding President Wilson of his pre-election promises toward woman suffrage we were exercising the right of peaceful petition.

"Conscious, therefore, of having acted in accordance with the highest standards of citizenship, we ask the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to grant us the rights due political prisoners. We ask that we no longer be confined and segregated under locks and bars in small groups, but be permitted to see each other and that Miss Lucy Burns, who is in full sympathy with this letter. be released from solitary confinement in another building.

"We ask exemption from prison work, that our legal right to consult counsel be recognized, to have food sent us from the outside, to supply ourselves with writing materials for as much correspondence as we may need, to receive letters, books, newspapers, our relaitves and friends."

The signers of the protest were supported in their demands by letters, petitions, resolutions, deputations and personal appeals to government officials by large numbers of people in all parts of the country. But no reply was made to the protest; no compliance with its demands was given or promised.

SECRETARY of War Newton D. Baker at this time admitted the political nature of the activities in consequence of which the suffragists had been imprisoned, by saying, "This (the suffrage struggle) is a revolution. There have been revolutions all through history. Some have been justified and some have not. The burden of responsibility to decide whether your revolution is justifiable or not is on you."

Despite this admission by Mr. Baker, the Commissioners said, "We do not know what is meant by 'political prisoners.'"

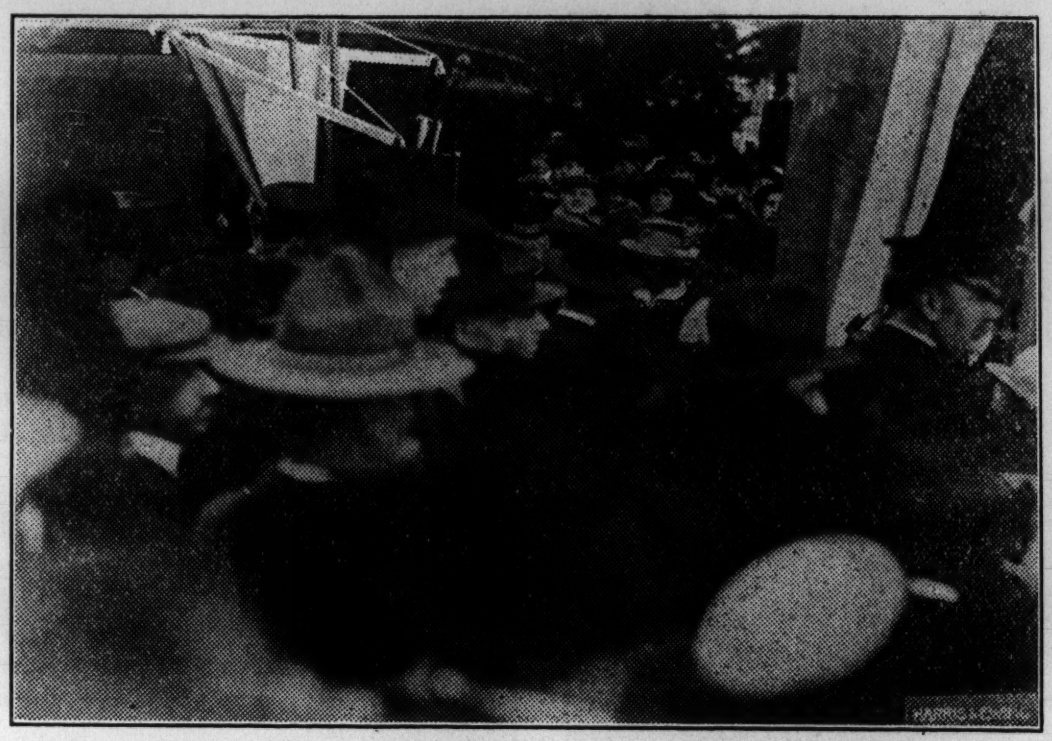
The prisoners continued to be denied all rights commonly accorded political prisoners, including the right to supply themselves with books and writing-materials, to purchase food, to see counsel, relatives, or friends.

Two of the prisoners, Miss Paul and Miss Rose Winslow, then adopted the hunger-strike as a means of backing up the demand. This is a method long used by political prisoners in other countries to back up any demand for justice. The protest of the hunger-strike was quickly taken up by other suffragists sent to prison and is being carried on with increasing courage and vigor. About one hundred women have now backed up the demand for recognition of their status as political prisoners by the hunger-strike, in spite of drawing upon themselves reprisals on the part of the jail superintendents for their persistence.

THE protest against being treated as criminals has not been without effect, although recognition as political prisoners has not been granted. The group of thirty women who joined in the hunger-strike started by Miss Paul and Rose Winslow in November, 1917, were all released in a few days, although some were under seven-months sentences.

Twenty women sentenced some to ten-day and some to fifteen-day sentences for an attempt to hold a meeting at the Lafayette Statue in Lafayette Square opposite the White House last August, after permits for meetings except in remote parts of the city had repeatedly been refused, hunger-struck on entering the jail, and did not taste food for five days. On the fifth day they were all released by order of the court, as well as three suffragists committed with them on the same charge, who because of advanced age or frail health had not been able to maintain the strike.

In consequence of the hunger-striking, no sentences for longer than five days are now



A Washington Crowd Waiting to See What the Administration Has Ordered the Police to Do to American Women Demanding Freedom

given, that being considered the limit beyond which starvation may not safely be carried.

Meanwhile other groups have taken up the agitation for treatment as political prisoners. They are referred to by this term in the press. But the United States government, like its agents, the District Commissioners, "does not know what is meant by political prisoners." The Dial, of January 11, says of persons sentenced under the draft and espionage laws: "Whether their status is technically to be defined as that of political prisoners is a legal question upon which the Department of Justice is understood to be engaged. In fact they are such."

Similarly the status of suffragists now in prison is not settled by the determination of jail-wardens, commissioners, and higher officials to remain ignorant that they are political prisoners. In fact they are such.

The decision of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia rendered on March 4, 1918, in favor of suffragists who had appealed their cases, had the effect of making illegal all arrests and sentences of suffragists prior to that date. This was indication that the charges against them were pretexts for crushing the suffrage agitation because it embarrassed a government which did not intend to grant the agitators' demands. The decision was handed down after the suffrage amendment had passed the House of Representatives. It is a safe guess that after it passes the Senate the imprisonment of watch-fire tenders will be found to be as illegal as the imprisonment of pickets.

In his work on "Constitutional Government," Woodrow Wilson once worte what seems prophetic of events on the battleground of liberty in and about Lafayette Square: "A people cannot remain dumb which is moved by profound impulses of conviction; . . . and governments presently find that they have to reckon with those who know not only what they want, but also the most effective means of making governments uncomfortable until they get it . . . Governments have been very resourceful in parrying agitation, in diverting it, **in seeming to yield to it and then cheating it,** (the black face is ours) in trying it out or evading it . . . . But the end, whether it come soon or late, is quite certain to be always the same."

How can women who have read these words and who are in prison for the very sort of activity described by Mr. Wilson do less than demand, and if necessary risk health and life in backing up the demand, that if they must be punished for their devotion to democracy they shall at least be classed as political, not criminal, offenders?

The Watchfires

By Sue White, Chairman of Tennessee Branch of Woman's Party

MY whole life has been such as to instill in me a deep respect for laws proceeding from authority, and to me even the simplest park regulation carries the dignity of a law if it proceeds from constituted authority.

However, I believe the stamp act against which our forefathers revolted was a law duly enacted, and in more than one instance where there has been a clash around issues of political liberty, laws properly and duly enacted have been involved.

The trouble seems to be that many of us have hardly begun to realize that our whole structure of law is opposed to the principle of democracy until the essential element of democracy—"the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government," becomes a part of that structure. I don't know how much longer we lovers of the law can expect it to stand on one foot.

That the woman's "rebellion" has gone no further than simple park regulations is significant in this one respect, most of all: she is the natural conserver of life. So there are to broken heads. Property in a way represents life, since it takes human effort to build it up. American women have very conservatively confined their deeds of "violence" to simple park regulations and mere scraps of paper, although they have examples of greater warfare for lesser rights than the one for which they battle.

For the past two years we have been swamped with propaganda about the ideals of democracy. We have taken it all rather seriously. We had to, as a people, for we were an anxious people, at war, needing the comfort that can only come from ideals. We were told in the beginning of a right "more precious than peace," which are brave words that some women, perhaps, have taken almost too seriously. The expression came from President Wilson's own lips. They probably thought it came from his heart and took it to their hearts, because they needed it to sustain them.

I have a friend who is to me almost what a mother would be. I was with her the night her youngest-born left Memphis to go to Fort Oglethorpe in the summer of 1917. I have been with her since she learned he will never come back. I have wondered if the democracy gained from the sorrow and sacrifice of the war is to be only a mockery to her; if the words "the right is more precious than peace" are to be meaningless to her; devoid of the comforting thought that her sacrifice has been worth while.

Perhaps it yet remains for a few "foolish and intemperate agitators" to put life into the President's words by fighting for the right he thought so precious when he called their sons and brothers into battle.

It is things like this that move women whom some call misguided. You may not understand it. You may think it radical. But whether or not it is ever understood by all, it is a vital force that sooner or later must have its way, whatever be the price demanded.

Mrs. Bennett's Jail Term

Reprinted from The Hartford Evening Post, January 14, 1919

TWO things are demonstrated by Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett's term in jail as a participant in the woman suffrage demonstrations in Washington.

One is the utter lack of understanding on the part of Senator McLean of the motives and ideals which actuate the women who have taken this method of undoing what they conceive to be an age's old injustice.

The other is that Senator McLean is not entirely unamenable to suggestion and pressure from "back home."

Senator McLean's lack of understanding is betrayed by his visit to Mrs. Bennett and his offer to pay her fine. Mrs. Bennett went to jail as a matter of principle and not because of inability to pay her fine. Mrs. Bennett went to Washington not on a mere peace disturbing expedition which could be squared with the law by the simple process of contributing to the coffers of the District of Columbia courts, but to contribute toward an end requiring self sacrifice.

One may scoff at this and demand what principle actuates women who burn the speeches of the President, who has done more for their cause than any other President and who conduct themselves in a manner that—to the unfriendly mind—smacks of hoodlumism.

So did the opposition in their time scoff at William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, who dared stand up in public places and declare the institution of African slavery to be criminally wrong. Yet eventually we fought a civil war over that issue and today William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips are almost of sainted memory.

Mrs. Bennett and Two of Her Children

The point of this is not that suffrage and the anti-slavery cause are upon a plane as issues. Whether they are or not this generation is not competent to judge. Not until the lapse of years has given a perspective from which to view the present shall we know whether history will record the struggle for suffrage as of the importance which is assigned to it by the advocates of the cause or whether it will be regarded as merely an interesting phenomenon. As an exponent of the right and justice of suffrage, of course, The Post has its own opinion as to history's estimate, but only time will really tell.

Senator McLean demonstrated an utter lack of comprehension of the points of the crusade for suffrage in his idea that the mere process of his paying a fine which a woman was abundantly able herself to pay if she wished, would settle all the troubles. But in informing Mrs. Bennett that he vistied her in response to an avalanche of telegrams from home with reference to the case the Senator betrayed, perhaps unwittingly, the fact that pressure from his constituents does have some effect.

The quick witted women will be prompt to take advantage of this confession. They will of course see to it that no end of fires are lighted behind the Senator. They will hope to bring him to a realization of the fact that they are not merely a group of restless agitators, but that they have an honest and earnest purpose to serve.

There are those, of course, who feel that Mrs. Bennett's action, and the antics of the suffragists are disgraceful. Yet the time may, and undoubtedly will come, when the next generation or the one after will marvel that there ever was any question over the right of women to be included when we recite from Lincoln that this is a government of, for and by "the people," when it will seem impossible that women have had to submit to being thrown into vermin-ridden jails before they could convince the men of their suposedly enlightened generation of that right.

Miss KatharineBennett

Miss Frances Bennett

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Comments of the Press

Washington Demonstrations

WHEN I returned from Europe, I went to Washington where I was asked to speak for the woman-suffrage amendment that was then pending in the American Senate. I was to speak from the pedestal of a statue—of some patriot, who had, no doubt, fought for democracy and liberty. Imagine, then, my consternation—having still had in mind those open park-meetings in England—when I arrived at the park to find a lot of American women being dragged from this same pedastal and hustled into the black marias and carted off to jail because they had attempted to raise some protest against the Senate of the United States for not giving them the democracy that the service-stars on the breasts of most of them showed their sons or husbands were fighting for in France.

Democracy under government is not necessarily measured by a name or a form.—Judge Ben B. Lindsey in the Cosmopolitan, February, 1919.

Making the Sun Halt

WASHINGTON police today went old Joshua of Biblical fame, one better. Josh only succeeded in making the sun halt in midheaven at noon (or the earth stop revolving, according to later authorities); but the enterprising constabulary of the Capital today caused the golden orb of day to knock off fully half an hour ahead of schedule time, and make a graceful, if hasty and rather unexpected, exit.

It was a case of necessity.

Just because several million women in this country are denied the ballot a number of suffragists in front of the White House were keeping the pot boiling by burning in it all of President Wilson's recent speeches in the capitals of Europe on democracy and kindred subjects.

Now, there is a federal statute forbidding the lighting of fires on government property after sunset. The time was 4:30. The sun, said the almanac, wouldn't set before 5. So it was a case of either seeing the Chief Magistrate's verbal masterpieces given to the flames or retiring the sun ahead of time.—New York City Call, January 21, 1919.

The Vestal Fire

WASHINGTON is to have a vestal fire all its own, with the militant suffragists as tenders of the sacred flame. It is proposed to keep the watch fire burning through two-hour shifts. Special wood will be brought from every state to feed the "blaze of freedom." Let us hope it will exclude a warm glow for the watchers through the raw days of January.—Richmond (Va.) Journal, December 31, 1919.

The National Amendment

WE can see nothing but suicide-politics, not to speak of poor general policy, in giving the Republican stand-patters the tremendous advantage they would gather in the great suffrage states by the defeat of this amendment in a Democratic Congress. It was these states that elected the present administration.

We should not talk of general expediency if we thought there were any reality in the "dangers" attributed to "federal suffrage." We are sure Senator Ransdell is right in regarding these "dangers" as pure fictions.—New Orleans Item, January 24, 1919.

Real Fighters

MRS. Mary A. Nolan, eighty years old, has been arrested twice, but not sentenced to prison, for taking part in "watch fire" demonstrations before the White House.

She burned copies of the President's speeches as a protest because so many American women are still unable to vote. This seems foolish, since Mr. Wilson has done so much for woman suffrage. You are inclined, however, to sympathize with Mrs. Nolan and be glad that the judge did not send her to jail when you read her statement made in court:

"I have fought this fight for many years, and I am willing to do or suffer anything to bring victory to the long, courageous struggle. I have seen children born and grow into womanhood to fight at my side. I have seen their children grow up to fight with us."

Miss Bertha Arnold, who helped Mrs. Nolan, was sent to jail for five days. And thirteen women that applauded old Mrs. Nolan in the courtroom were sentenced to forty-eight hours in jail.

This is probably necessary, but regrettable. That courageous old woman has made a fight as brave as almost any soldier. To send women to jail for applauding her seems to be straining a point for judicial dignity. If thirteen men had applauded an old soldier, would they have gone to jail?

American women have made many sacrifices to help beat Germany. As a result, Germany, beaten, has thirty-four women elected as lawmakers, with only one elected into the United States Congress and only one, an Irish woman, in Great Britain, and she is in jail.

You cannot blame Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, aged eighty, for being puzzled to learn that the world has been fighting for freedom—for German women. They can all vote in Germany.—Arthur Brisbane, in Washington Times, Jan. 27, 1919.

The History of Reform

GREAT reforms are not easily won, nor are they ever won without resort to methods of a nature to arouse and disturb the self-satisfied and entirely contented. An altogether complacent public does not like to be reformed; it prefers to be let alone. To alarm it and to arouse it to a keener sense of its responsibility may be, and often is, regarded as a great annoyance. Throughout all the ages the genuine and successful reformer, or, at least, the fearless, restless, persistent advocate of every genuine reform that has eventually succeeded, has been regarded as a trouble-maker. People who like to take things easily, and, consequently, to take them as they come, never welcome the reformer who will not be content with things as he finds them simply because they exist and have become institutional. Therefore, reformers, while engaged in reforming, are seldom, if ever, popular. This is the story told by all sacred and secular history.

The men and women who have changed the world for the better have almost invariably been disliked, and more than disliked at times, by those who were content with the world. This fact is written in big letters across the chronicles of the United States. Of course, many reformers in the past who, in their times, were denounced as mischief-makers, demagogues, and fanatics, are now remembered as public benefactors, but this has apparently not made the way smoother for those reformers who have followed them. Nevertheless, the work of reformation will go on, for if the world is not to move forward it must move backward, and this is not a conceivable possibility.—Christian Science Monitor, January 23, 1919.

A Happy New Year

IT begins to look doubtful whether the militant suffragettes will let Washington have a Happy New Year.—Bridgeport (Conn.) Post, January 5, 1919.

Painful Susceptibilities

THE New York State Senate Tuesday passed a resolution requesting the state's representatives in the National Senate to vote and work for the adoption of the suffrage amendment, over the protest of State Senator Sage, who declared that the resolution was "an insult" to Senator Wadsworth, who is an anti-suffragist.

It is a new doctrine that when a number of people think that their representative is taking a wrong stand, they must not present their views to him because they may thereby wound his tender susceptibilities.

When a state secures a senator who regards advice or requests as an "insult," its people should seize the first opportunity of changing senators.—The New Orleans (La.) Item, January 19, 1919.

Courage of Their Convictions

ASK Mrs. John Winters Brannan, for instance, what two terms under the Spanish Inquisition of Occoquan jail and a supplementary dose of the Women's City Prison at Washington, D. C., cost her and other members of the National Woman's Party in individual suffering and humiliation that the cause of woman at large might be pushed forward! For whether you approve of picketing the White House or not, whether or not you believe the lighting and feeding of watchfires serve to remind the people that democracy has still to be made a full truth in the land, you must concede that these women have the courage of their convictions. And that by being "meek," they could enjoy much they now renounce. . . . —Zoe Beckley, in New York Evening World, January 18, 1919.

Senator Trammell in City

UNITED States Senator Park Trammell is a business visitor in the city today and will return to Washington tonight. Senator Trammell is one of the most popular men in Congress and did not have time today to talk of business matters or any other kind hardly. He said, however, that important measures would come up for consideration next week and he would hurry back so that he could be on the job. Just at present the suffrage question is much in evidence and as the senator has not favored the idea, he is in the limelight with the ladies, who only lack one vote of having a majority in order to be sure that the amendment is passed. The Star feels that he is not doing the people he represents justice unless he votes for the rights of women and the Anthony amendment.—Lakeland, Fla.

Should Obey People's Franchise

BY a sweeping majority the male voters of this state gave women the franchise. Now that women are voters no one can doubt that the sentiment of the electorate is overwhelmingly in favor of equal suffrage for both sexes.

Recognizing this, the legislature has requested the representatives of this state to vote in favor of the suffrage amendment, now before the United States Senate.

This measure has passed the House of Representatives and only one or two more votes are required to give it the requisite two-thirds majority of the Senate.

Yet in the face of the popular demand and the request of the legislature, Senator Wadsworth persists in opposing the suffrage amendment.

Does Senator Wadsworth regard himself as having been sent to the Senate to represent the people? Or does he consider that he represents only himself and has no responsibility to the electorate which sent him to the Senate?

This is supposed to be a representative government. Is it not about time Senator Wadsworth recognized that fact?—Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union, Jan. 17, 1919.

Pollock's Silence

IF imitation be, as alleged, the sincerest flattery, the sphinx must be tickled to death by the way in which Senator Pollock is flattering it. His silence may be golden, but it is irritating to those who think that even a grave and reverend United States senator ought to be either a man or a monkey. One of the great questions before this country is equal suffrage. The majority opinion of the civilized world appears to be that women have earned recognition of their inherent right to vote—a right which has always existed. Already as a result of the world war there has come in many countries a broadened recognition of that right. In this country, President Wilson has urged that our democracy be made more perfect by a national recognition of the right of women to vote. He has presented in a masterly way the thought that this is necessary to nail down and conserve the worth while results of the world war. Failure to do what he has urged will seem strange to those new democracies in Europe which see that true democracy requires that women who pay taxes and who bear great burdens when their countries are at war should be given a share in the government through a recognition of their right to vote. Nero fiddled while Rome burned. Senator Pollock is not fiddling, but he is playing a peculiar brand of politics. If he has not made up his mind as to how he is going to vote on this great question, then he is afflicted with a peculiar brand of mind. If he has made up his mind, why not positively declare his intention? At present he holds the balance of power and his reticence operates against suffrage. It is said that if he will declare in favor of suffrage the other needed vote can be obtained. He is only a stop-gap senator but he has an opportunity that comes to few in long years of service in the Senate. He can write himself down in the history of this country, if he votes right, as the man who made equal suffrage an actual fact; if he votes the other way, he cannot defeat equal suffrage —he can only delay it. If he delays it, the new complexion of the Senate and House after March 4 means that the Republicans will get the credit for equal suffrage. If that should be the case, Senator Pollock will have put a handicap upon the party that put him in the Senate that will exert an injurious effect for many years to come. Even though he should announce that he is going to vote against equal suffrage, those who favor it will have more respect for him if he speaks out than if he continues his imitation of the sphinx.—The Piedmont, Greenville, S. C., January 2, 1919.

The Militants

ALICE Paul, head chief of the militant suffragettes, has been arrested. Now, judge, keep your nerve and remember why the laws were put on the books.—Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier.

Mere Delay to Act of Justice

THE women of England voted in the parliamentary elections this month. The Belgian cabinet approves a program of electoral reform which includes universal suffrage. Other old world democracies are refusing longer to recognize sex as a bar to political activity.

Only the Congress of the United States holds back. Only the supposedly most democratic of democracies still clings to this old idol of political injustice. The women of America cannot vote, except as the right is conferred by individual states from time to time.

A woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution was adopted by the House of Representatives in January, nearly a year ago. It has not yet been passed by the Senate. The present Congress goes out of existence in March. Unless the Senate acts favorably before March 4 the victory for suffrage already won in the House will be nullified. In that case, the amendment must be re-introduced, re-passed by the House, and the ground already covered gone over again.

On the other hand, if the present Senate will indorse the suffrage amendment between now and the fourth day of March the measure will go at once to the legislatures, three-quarters of which will be in session through January and February. Its ratification would permit the great democracy of the West to hold up its head among such old world democracies as England, Belgium and the new Austria.

Here is a proposal without partisanship, a measure so eminently, fundamentally just that no convincing argument can be made against it. It should be a part of the country's reconstruction program to grant this signal recognition to the womanhood of America for the magnificent part it played in bringing victory to American arms.

The Senate's present attitude is one of obstruction. No fact is clearer than that universal suffrage will not long be denied. Its establishment by federal constitutional amendment is virtually certain to be the methods of accomplishment. No legitimate purpose can be achieved by further delay. A legislative body, which cannot see the logic of the suffrage appeal after such a war as this is blind to the leadings of progressive thought.

Some of the state legislatures are to be asked to pass resolutions urging individual senators to support the suffrage amendment. Such a resolution ought to be adopted by the general assembly of Ohio—Cleveland Plain Dealer, January, 1919.

Home Fires Burning

THE President may or may not rejoice at the news that the National Woman's Party is keeping the home fire burning.—Syracuse (N. Y. Herald, January 4, 1919.

Treasurer's Report

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Mrs. S. T. M. Low, Cal.	10.00
Miss Mary Dean Powell, D. C.	5.00
Miss Eleanor Lawler, Cal.	2.00
Dr. D. Challiss Faust, Pa.	10.00
Miss Henriette Heinzen, D. C.	5.00
Mrs. E. N. Billington, Pa.	5.00
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.	25.00
Anonymous, Colo.	5.00
Mrs. R. G. Thomas, S. C.	5.00
Mrs. Mary M. Raoul, Ga.	93.06
Mrs. H. M. Dunlap, Ill.	5.00
Miss Adelaide Johnson, N. Y.	15.00
Miss Amy R. Juengling, N. Y.	5.00
Mrs. Wm. J. Gunnell, Jr. N. Y.	5.00
Mr. John Pries, D. C.	95.90
Mrs. E. Eylward, La.	.75
Mrs. M. R. Bankston, La.	.50
Mrs. A. H. Cosu, La.	.50
Mrs. L. Midena, La.	1.00
Mrs. Rosella S. Bayhi, La.	2.00
Syracuse Branch, N. Y.	130.00
Mrs. Mary B. Hill, Conn.	10.00
Miss Maud Clark, Ill.	10.00
Miss Mary C. McQuiston, Cal	5.00
Miss Lucy C. Abercrombie, N. J.	10.00
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West End Political Equality League	6.00
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Mrs. G. B. Twitchell	5.00
Mrs. Mary D. Brite	10.00
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Mrs. Katharine W. Ruschenberger, Pa.	25.00
Mrs. J. Wilkes Ford, Cal.	5.00
Mrs. N. S. Maughs, Va.	2.50
Mrs. Henrietta E. Lambie, N. Y.	10.00
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, D. C.	50.00
Mrs. Sophie W. Sage, R. I.	25.00
Miss Gretchen Baumgarten, Wis.	1.00
Miss Annie M. Wilson, Md.	5.00
Dr. Jennie V. H. Baker, N. Y.	10.00
Oshkosh, Wis. Branch	16.00
Miss Jennie B. Dickie, Mich.	1.00
Hunter College Girls—Through (Miss Edvige Carlucci, N. Y.)	13.00
Vivian Pierce, collected	2.25
Mrs. Rena M. Green, Tex.	10.00
Miss Gertrude M. Jarmon, Tenn.	5.00
Miss Sarah Week Gribi, Cal.	25.00
Miss Sara H. Hood, Tenn.	3.00
Miss Helen Horan, Ill.	1.00
Mrs. M. W. Adams, N. Y	25.00
Miss Emily Perry, D. C.	10.00
Miss Clara M. Hill, Conn.	63.00
Mrs. Grace E. Banschbach, Ill.	2.00
Miss Mary H. Ingham, Pa.	95.00
Miss Mary Winsor, Pa.	365 00
Mrs. Genevieve M. Fuller, Mass.	2.50
Membership Fees	6.75
Total collected by National Headquarters	2,868.71
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	388,925.44
Total collected by National Headquarters through Jan. 31, 1919	391,794.15

Contributions made to Pennsylvania Headquarters:

Miss Pauline W. Spencer	10.00
Mrs. W. J. Hall	10.00
Mrs. Franklin Spencer Edmunds	12.00
Miss Juliette E. Eshelman	.30
Miss Mary A. Burnham	25.00
Miss Martha W. Souder	25.00
Mrs. George F. Stradling	25.00
Mrs. Glen O. Martin	1.00
Miss Mary H. Ingham	50.00
Pa. Suffragist Committee	5.00
Miss Aimee Stone	5.00
Mrs. Pope Yeatman	50.00
Mrs. Henry Hill Collins, Jr.	5.00
Miss Louise Wittenberg	.75
Miss Cecilia P. Bass	5.00
Mrs. Harry Traphoner	2.00
Mrs. E. Pel Zel	.50
Miss Cora Crawford	10.00

Contributions made to New York Headquarters:

Dr. J. H. V. Baker	10.00
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Mrs. Clarence Burns	10.00
Mrs. A. P. Chace	25.00
Dr. L. A. Cort	5.00
Mr. Thomas C. Desmond	5.00
Mrs. Frederick Hazard	100.00
Mrs. Huntington Jackson	5.00
Miss Isabelle Kobbe	10.00
Mr. Adolph Lewisohn	1,200.00
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Mrs. Charles Moran	10.00
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Mrs. E. S. Rogers	25.00
Mr. Alfred S. Rossin	50.00
Mrs. Alfred Rossin	100.00
Mr. Morris Rossin	50.00
Mrs. W. H. Sheldon	5.00
Miss Cora Week	15.00
Mr. E. T. Elder	25.00
Mrs. H. G. Leach	100.00
Mrs. Wm. Floyd	25.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer	100.00
Miss F. E. Ackerman	25.00
Mr Henry G. Leach	50.00
Miss Katherine C. Montgomery	5.00
Mrs. George Le Boutillier	5.00
Miss Anna Constable	10.00
Total collected by Branches	2,271.55
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	72,658.85
Total collected by Branches through Jan. 31, 1919	74,930.40
Grand Total	466,724.55
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,406.50
Grand Net Total	462,318.05

The Suffragist Circulation

PERSONS SECURING NEW SUFFRAGIST SUBSCRIPTIONS THROUGH JAN. 24

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware	2
Miss Camilla G. Whitcomb, Mass.	1
Mrs. Charles Ogle, Md.	1
Miss Mary E. Dubrow, La.	3
Miss Clara Wold, D. C.	3
Miss Elsie Hill, N. H.	4
Miss Gertrude Watkins, Ark.	1
Mrs. Agnes Morey, Mass.	1
Dr. Margaret Long, Colo.	1
Mrs. A. H. Bright, Minn.	1
Miss Betty Gram, N. H.	4
Miss Clara Louise Rowe, N. H.	4
Miss Eleanor Calnan, Mass.	1
Mrs. Bertha Moller, Minn.	1
Miss Psyche Webster, S. C.	1
Miss Bertha Arnold, N. H.	3
Mrs. Phoebe C. Munnecke, Mich.	2
Maryland Branch	1
Miss Elsie G. Wedler, D. C.	1
Miss Emily Butterworth, N. Y.	2
Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Pennsylvania	3
Miss Emma D. Baxter, Mass.	1
Total	42

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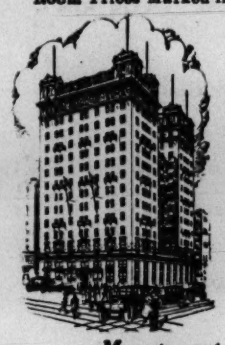
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